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opportunity to another constable, a good many miles distant. The reason for his flight was simply that his wife belonged to his own village and to the clan of its constable, so that he feared a too summary punishment. Had this murder occurred before the country was brought under control, one might venture to say that the murderer would have had the actual support of his own clan against that of his wife if a violent retaliation had been attempted. As a rule, however, the Orokaiva is fond of his wife and indulgent to his children. Squabbles do not often occur; too frequent wife-beating is deprecated; and bad temper is regarded as bad conduct.

The Position of Women. The wife and mother is largely occupied with matters of *ménage*, and takes little part in wider social activities. Completely overshadowed by the male she seems very well satisfied with her relative unimportance. A woman takes no initiative in matters which concern the clan as a whole, though, when a number of clans are together at a festival and feeling is perhaps strained, she is sometimes known to blow upon the coals. She has a weapon, the *poreba* or quarterstaff, and in former times would sometimes accompany cannibal raids, acting the part of armour-bearer or assisting in the commissariat.

In private life she is not aggressive, although I may quote a rather striking exception in order to prove the rule. A man named Siavije, having no children by his first wife, married a second, who was compelled, however, to reside in her own village nearby because of the jealousy of the senior wife. Under these circumstances Siavije hardly dared visit his second spouse, and was constantly involved in quarrels with his first. Being an inoffensive man and rather small, he was hardly a match for this large raw-boned woman who was known to worst him on more than one occasion and even to pursue him, crying for help, from end to end of the village.

Polygamy is relatively uncommon. In most of the instances which have come under my notice the wives manage to get on successfully enough with one another, though it is frequently said to be otherwise. I know of one man who 'threw away' his first wife because she could not live in

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amity with his second; of a second wife who, after a quarrel with the first, poisoned herself with *derris* or 'New Guinea Dynamite'; and of a husband, formerly a village constable, who was so upset by the wrangling of his two wives as to go away and hang himself. But these instances once more are exceptional, and the polygamous household may be said as a rule to be a peaceful one. Very commonly each wife occupies a separate house, and invariably she works a garden area of her own, so that mutual independence does much to prevent friction.

To sum up on the social position of woman we may say that she is nominally and often actually under the control of her husband, but that by virtue of his restraint on the one hand and her powers of personal expression on the other, the married couple usually get on very well together as a working unit. In public life, i.e. in the affairs of clan and village, the woman takes only a small part, but is well contented to have it so. She works longer hours than her husband, but her share of labour is not entirely disproportionate; indeed, the popular belief that women do all the work in a native village while their men-folk sprawl about in idleness is quite mistaken. A fairly systematic investigation in two Aiga villages[1] showed that of a total potential working time, men were idle 50 per cent. and women 33 per cent. On the whole it may be safely said that the position of Orokaiva women—indeed of native women in general—is not so slave-like and degraded as popular sentiment imagines.

The Control of Children. Children become members of the father's clan and naturally assume his clan emblem. They thus belong essentially to the father rather than to the mother. In cases of divorce, for example, it is normal for the child to remain in the custody of the father, unless it be an infant at the breast, when the matter may be waived, though compensation is due to the husband. The case of orphans is similar. Although there appears to be no formal adoption they are cared for in the normal case by the people of their father, being regarded indeed as their property.

[1] *Interim Report on Native Labour*, 1927.

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IX

MARRIAGE

583 THE customs relating to marriage will be better understood if it be made clear at the outset that there are four distinct methods by which an Orokaiva can obtain a wife. They are (1) Purchase, (2) Exchange, (3) Elopement, and (4) Capture. The first three of these methods are in continual use to-day; the fourth has fallen out of fashion, but only since the pacification of the country by the white man. Cases of marriage by capture have been very common, and the custom is not so long obsolete but that many women are still to be found in the Division who first met their husbands as members of a hostile raiding party. I shall return to a discussion of these several methods at the end of the chapter.

Polygamy and Exogamy

595 In the great majority of instances marriage is monogamous. Whether in the fighting days there existed that surplus of males over females which the modern census reveals, it is impossible to say; but apart from this we are told that every mature and normal man had a wife, so that one finds it difficult to conceive how polygamy could have been very prevalent. In present-day instances the polygamous husband rarely has more than two wives. A certain young man Orari of Isivita, who is of more than usually prepossessing appearance, has divorced one and at present owns three. Asked why he had so many he said it was the girls' fault; they all wanted him. It seems probable, however, that wealth and power rather than personal attraction are the means of winning extra wives. The record instance, as far as my knowledge goes, is that of a man Buninia whose wives are numbered by his surviving contemporaries at eleven. Buninia was a man of great influence among all the Aiga clans, and was notorious for bad temper and bullying. It is said that he was greatly feared. It will go without

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saying that he was wealthy. I do not know which of these attributes had the greatest influence in winning him eleven wives.

Normally marriage is patrilocal, though instances to the contrary are not infrequent. Nor is it unusual for a man to spend long periods in the village of his wife, for, as we have found, there is usually a close intimacy between the two sides of the united family. It is said that a kindly husband will make allowance for his wife's homesickness. But in cases of what seems more or less permanent matrilocal marriage, the offspring still belong emphatically to the father's clan.

The evidence regarding exogamy is not entirely consistent. Some witnesses have said it is not permissible for a man to marry a woman of his own clan. For this two arguments have been put forward, but neither throws much light on the matter. If a girl married a man of her own clan, where, it was asked, would the pay or bride-price come from? On another occasion a witness said that if a man and wife of the same clan happened to quarrel they would both find themselves calling the name of the same *heratu* or plant emblem; and the neighbours overhearing would shake their heads or turn up their noses at the idea of marriage between two of the same clan. Other informants have expressed repugnance at the suggestion of marriage with a *du* or 'sister', so that it would appear that in general theory at least the clan should be exogamous. As for the village group (in which there may be several clans), it cannot be called exogamous even in theory. It has been stated, on the contrary, that in a village where there happens to be a number of attractive girls it is a wise thing for the young men of that village to marry them and keep them at home. And this precept was made applicable to the clan itself by some informants; for the rule of clan exogamy was actually in some cases denied.

When we consult the facts we find that marriage is usually outside the clan, but that the exceptions are numerous enough to prove that clan exogamy is not a hard and fast rule. It also appears that marriage is usually outside the